1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

Art

There is no evidence of any plastic or graphic art among the archers, other than designs used in body painting, described by Schebesta (1941, 217 ff.), some of which he says are of magical significance and some purely esthetic. In this limited field there is no evidence, either, of specialization. 531 532.

As means of artistic expression, music, dance, and drama are evidently of great importance. Schebesta (1941, 243 ff.) describes these art forms and lays particular emphasis on the dance. Other, earlier sources (Schweinfurth, 1874; Burrows, 1898; Geil, 1905; Christy, 1924) frequently mention dance and also the importance of mime among the Mbuti. Of the form and function of music, Schebesta has little to say. He mentions the use of villager instruments, particularly the drum, sanza, and zither, also others such as the musical bow, rattles, flutes (Fig. 15b, c), and pipes, and resonant sticks used by women for beating time to dances. He merely mentions the existence of singing, apart from the dance. 53

Of dance Schebesta (1949, 252–259) gives more detail. He writes (1941, 243): "The principal, if not the daily entertainment of young 535

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 188-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[NET HUNTERS]

Further, unlike the initiation described by Schebesta, the *molimo* (Schebesta: *lusomba*) trumpet did not appear during the entire festival, nor was it mentioned. The initiation here seems to be almost completely dissociated from the men's religious association, at least as far as the Mbuti are concerned. The only instruments that were used were the *makata* sticks, small clappers used by the women in their dances during this period, and a bull-roarer (which the boys knew about, though in front of the villagers they pretended otherwise). There was nothing at any time in the ceremony itself, or in the instruction, to connect the *nkumbi* with the Mbuti *molimo* society. Toward the end of the initiation the boys were dressed in grass skirts (Fig. 47) and paraded through the village with leaf masks (Fig. 48b) held between their teeth to prevent them from talking to non-initiates. After the final cere-

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Bira FO11

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.220-A]

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FIG. 48. Initiation masks, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Bark mask, worn by Bira and Ndaka initiators during the preliminary *nkumbi* dances. b. Leaf mouth-mask, worn in mouth of initiates when paraded through village.

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621

fact marriages within the band occur and are in fact often favored as they can be arranged without any ceremony. Ceremony occurs, he says, only when a marriage involves two different bands. Intra-band marriage is made possible, even within the bounds of lineage exogamy, by the practice of maintaining a number of "resident aliens." A net-hunting camp, always

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-C]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

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FIG. 49. Wood carvings, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. a. Carving of standing male. b. Carving of tree. Such carving is done by the Mbuti extremely rarely and only in direct imitation of the villager carvers.

[MM]

[P 220-B]

I: Turnbull E-4. 8 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

In so far as the net hunters are much more likely to tell a legend than they are to discuss a question or expound a theory, legends are a valuable source that should be tapped, with the necessary cautions, to give us some insight into Mbuti rationalization as opposed to rationalization among the Mbuti. 538

Art

As among the archers, graphic art is limited to the decoration of the human body (notably the buttocks, legs, and face) and also of bark-cloth. As mentioned above, the juice of the gardenia fruit is used for painting body designs, which Putnam says are for pure esthetic effect and of no magical significance. He believes, however, that some of the facial scarifications may indicate clan membership. No details are given. He adds that sometimes women name their designs; for example, a spotted design may be called "leopard." The design rests in the hands of the artist rather than of the subject. 302 531 [386] [824] [304]

Sometimes even head shaving is performed in such a way as to leave simple designs.

Some carving is now being done (Fig. 49) in imitation of village carvings. 532 194

As with the archers, music and dance are vitally important means of expression to the 533 535

[P. 233-D]